Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2555

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DEPT/EA REPEAT TO OTHER POSTS AS DESIRED

E.O.11652: PFOR US VN SUBJ: PHAN HIEN'S MAY 4 PRESS CONFERENCE - EMBASSY INFORMAL TRANSLATION

PHAN HIEN: I HAVE A SHORT STATEMENT TO MAKE TO YOU. I SHALL SAY A FEW WORDS IN VIETNAMESE AND SHALL THEN LET MY FRIEND CONTINUE IN FRENCH AND AFTERWARDS IN ENGLISH. I REGRET VERY MUCH THAT I DO NOT HAVE ANY PRINTED COPIES FOR YOU.

PRESS STATEMENT.

BY AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE SRV AND THE USA, AFTER THE VISIT TO HANOI OF THE AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION LED BY MR. LEONARD WOODCOCK, THE SRV DELEATION, LED BY MR. PHAN HIEN, VICE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AND THE USA DELEGATION, LED BY MR. RICHARD HOLBROOKE, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE, HELD CONVERSATION DURING THE MORNINGS OF MAY 3 AND 4, 1977 DURING 7 HOURS AT THE SRV EMBASSY IN PARIS TO DISCUSS PROBLEMS LEFT BEHIND BY THE WAR AND THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. THE UNCLASSIFIED

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AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVE EXPRESSED HIS APPRECIATION FOR THE ACTIONS OF THE VIETNAMESE GOVERNMENT IN SEEKING FOR A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF THE AMERICANS MISSING DURING THE WAR IN VIETNAM. THE VIETNAMESE REPRESENTATIVE SAID THAT, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE GOOD WILL OF THE VIETNAMESE GOVERNMENT THIS PROBLEM IS IN THE PROCESS OF BEING RESOLVED. THE VIETNAMESE GOVERNMENT STATED THAT

IT WILL INTENSIVY ITS EFFORTS TO FURNISH ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON THIS PROBLEM. THE VIETNAMESE REPRESENTATIVE STATED THAT THE US GOVERNMENT HAS A RESPONSIBILITY TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE HEALING OF THE WOUNDS OF WAR AND THE POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION IN VIETNAM. THE VIETNAMESE GOVERNMENT REQUESTS THE IMMEDIATE REMOVAL OF THE US TRADE EMBARGO. THE AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVE STATED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT DID NOT OPPOSE THE ADMISSION OF VIETNAM TO THE UN.

THE TWO PARTIES AGREED ON THE OBJECTIVE OF A RAPID NORMALIZATION OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. THE TALKS WERE HELD IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF CORDIALITY AND FRANKNESS. THE TWO PARTIES BELIEVE THAT THESE TALKS WERE CONSTRUCTIVE AND USEFUL AND AGREE TO MEET AGAIN IN TWO WEEKS TO CONTINUE THE TALKS. THE AMERICAN DELEGATION EXPRESSED ITS THANKS FOR THE HOSPITALITY AND THE EXCELLENT CONDITIONS WHICH THE VIETNAMESE SIDE CREATED FOR THE TALKS AT THE NEW VIETNAMESE EMBASSY. THE NEXT SESSION OF THE TALKS WILL BE HELD AT THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN PARIS.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Q: MR. MINISTER, ARE YOU ABLE AS OF NOW TO GIVE ANY INFORMATION ABOUT THE AMERICANS?

A: AFTER THE VISIT OF THE PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION LED BY MR. LEONARD WOODCOCK WE HAVE CONTINUED TO GIVE UNCLASSIFIED

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INFORMATION ON THIS SUBJECT THROUGH THE EXCHANGE OF LETTERS BETWEEN THE ORGANIZATIONS CREATED FOR THIS PURPOSE.

Q: CAN YOU GIVE US THE NUMBER OF AMERICANS?

A: I CAN SAY THAT THERE ARE TWO OR THREE NEW CASES WHICH ARE THE SUBJECT OF NEW INFORMATION GIVEN BY OUR

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SIDE.

Q: ANOTHER QUESTION, MR. MINISTER. DID YOU RAISE THE FIGURE OF THE REPARATIONS THAT YOU WOULD LIKE TO OBTAIN FROM THE US?

A: I MUST SAY FIRST THAT WE HAVE NEVER USED THE WORD "WAR REPARATIONS". WE BASE OUR (POSITION) ON ARTICLE 21 OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT CONCERNING THE US CONTRIBUTION TO HEALING THE WOUNDS OF WAR AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF VIETNAM. WE HAVE NOT USED THE WORD "WAR REPARATIONS". WE GAVE DOCUMENTS ON THIS SUBJECT TO THE WOODCOCK COMMISSION, AND THIS TIME WE GAVE NEW AND COMPLEMENTARY EXPLANATIONS ON THIS SUBJECT TO MR. HOLBROOKE. WE ALSO CITED SEVERAL EXAMPLES OF FRIENDLY COUNTRIES, NEAR AND FAR, WHO HAVE HELPED VIETNAM.

Q: MR. MINISTER, HOW LONG DO YOU THINK IT WILL TAKE BEFORE ALL OF THE MISSING AMERICAN ARE ACCOUNTED FOR?

A: THE AMERICAN GUESTS DURING THEIR VISIT TO HANOI UNCLASSIFIED

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TOLD US, THE VIETNAMESE, THAT THE SEEKING OF INFORMATION ABOUT THE MISSING IN ACTION IS A VERY DIFFICULT TASK. AS A MATTER OF FACT, THERE ARE ABOUT 70-80,000 AMERICANS MISSING DURING WORLD WAR II, AND THERE IS NO INFORMATION ABOUT THEM EVEN AT THE PRESENT MOMENT. SO IT IS VERY DIFFICULT NOW TO SAY AT WHAT DATE THIS WORK WILL BE FULFILLED. BUT THE VIETNAMESE SIDE IS MAKING THE GREATEST POSSIBLE EFFORT

TO ACCOMPLISH THIS, TO FULFILL THIS ISSUE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

Q: MR. MINISTER, DID YOU GIVE A GLOBAL FIGURE FOR WHAT YOU EXPECT FROM THE US? AND SECONDLY, RADIO HANOI SAID DURING THESE PAST FEW DAYS THAT VIETNAM WAS READY TO OFFER FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR AN AMERICAN CONTRIBUTION. WHAT DOES THIS MEAN? IS IT SEPARATING BETWEEN LOANS AND AID? CAN YOU EXPLAIN TO US WHAT "FABORABLE CONDITIONS" MEANS?

A: AS FOR THE TOTAL FIGURE, YOU ARE CERTAINLY AWARE OF THE DOCUMENTS OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION CONCERNING THE TOTAL FIGURE, WHICH ARE KNOWN.

Q: IT HAS NOT CHANGED?

A: I ASKED THE AMERICAN DELEGATION WHETHER IT WAS AWARE OF THESE DOCUMENTS AND IT REPLIED THAT IT IS AWARE. AS FOR FAVORABLE CONDITIONS TO PERMIT THE US TO ACCOMPLISH ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THE HEALING OF THE WOUNDS OF WAR AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF VIETNAM, WE ARE READY TO DISCUSS IN DETAIL THE FORMS AND THE PROCEDURES WITH THE US.

A: DOES THAT INCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF COMMERCIAL CREDITS?

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- A: A PRIORI, WE DO NOT EXCLUDE ANY FORM.
- Q: HAVE YOU INCLUDED ALSO IN THIS FIGURE THE FROZEN ASSETS OF THE TWO SIDES?
- A: WE ASKED THE AMERICAN PARTY TO ABANDON THE EMBARGO.
- Q: DID THEY REPLY?
- A: WE ARE WAITING FOR THEIR REPLY.
- Q: MR. MINISTER, CAN YOU GIVE US AN IDEA OF THE EXACT FIGURE OF THE FROZEN VIETNAMESE ASSETS, ASSETS FROZEN BY THE US? IT SEEMS TO ME THAT IT IS A QUESTION ALSO OF A SUM OF \$750 MILLION . . . (INAUDIBLE).
 A: IT IS OF THE ORDER OF \$150 MILLION.
- Q: YOU REFERRED TO THE NIXON LETTER A FEW MINUTES AGO. CAN YOU SAY PRECISELY THE FIGURE CONTAINED IN THIS FAMOUS NIXON LETTER? IF YOU DO NOT WISH TO GIVE THIS

FIGURE, WILL YOU CONFIRM MY FIGURE OF \$3.5 BILLION?

A: I CAN SAY THAT IN THE LETTER FROM MR. NIXON, THE

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FIGURE WAS \$3.25 BILLION. THERE IS ANOTHER POINT, ANOTHER CHAPTER WHICH DEALT WITH OTHER FORMS OF AID ESTIMATED AT \$1-1.5 BILLION.

Q: OVERALL IT IS \$4.75 BILLION THAT YOU HOPE, THAT YOU EXPECT TO GET FROM THE US?

A: THAT IS THE FIGURE ON THE JURIDICAL LEVEL THAT WE HAVE THE RIGHT TO ASK FROM THE US.

Q: IN THAT LETTER WERE THE SUMS DIVIDED INTO VARIOUS FORMS, LOANS, CREDITS?

A: IN THE LETTER, THERE IS NOTHING ON THIS SUBJECT. THERE IS AS YET NO BREAKDOWN. I REMIND YOU THAT THE AMERICAN/VIETNAMESE MIXED COMMISSION WHICH MET AFTER THE SIGNATURE OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT, DISCUSSED AT THE SAME TIME THE 5-YEAR PLAN AND THE ANNUAL PLAN OF THAT TIME, THE FIRST YEAR AT LEAST.

Q: DO YOU EXPECT TO RESUME THESE DISCUSSIONS . . . (INAUDIBLE).

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A: THAT DEPENDS ON OUR NEXT TALKS.

Q: MR. PHAN HIEN, CAN YOU TELL US, IN A WORD, WHAT YOU ACCOMPLISHED TO DATE, AFTER THESE TWO DAYS OF CONVERSATIONS, 7 HOURS OF CONVERSATIONS. IN ENGLISH IF POSSIBLE

Q: IN FRENCH ALSO.

A: WE MADE PROGRESS IN THE MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE POSITION OF EACH PARTY. AND WE MADE PROGRESS, A STEP FORWARD, AND WE HOPE TO BE ABLE TO CONTINUE IN THE NEXT TALKS. THE NEXT MEETINGS.

Q: DO YOU FORESEE A LONG SERIES OF SUCH MEETINGS BEFORE ARRIVING AT A CULMINATION. OR DO YOU FORESEE RATHER, WITHOUT TOO MANY CONVERSATIONS, THE ARRIVAL AT AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE AND LEAVING IT TO EXPERTS TO NEGOTIATE THE DETAILS LATER?

A: WE WISH TO MOVE RAPIDLY IF THE OTHER PARTY WISHES IT ALSO. WE ARE PREPARED TO SIGN AN AGREEMENT IF THE OTHER SIDE WISHES IT ALSO.

Q: PRECISELY, MR. MINISTER, FOR THE NEXT MEETING IN TWO WEEKS HAVE YOU ALREADY ESTABLISHED A CALENDAR OF THE SUBJECTS (AGENDA) YOU WILL DISCUSS?

A: THE CALENDAR OF SUBJECTS INCLUDES ABOVE ALL THE THREE LARGE PROBLEMS THAT WE HAVE MENTIONED, THE PROBLEM OF THE MIA IN VIETNAM, THE PROBLEM OF THE US CONTRIBUTION TO HEALING THE WOUNDS OF WAR AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF VIETNAM, AND THEN THE PROBLEM OF THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. WITHIN THESE THREE PRINCIPAL PROBLEMS, THERE ARE UNCLASSIFIED

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NATURALLY PROBLEMS OF DETAIL, MORE CONCRETE PROBLEMS BUT THE ESSENTIAL MATTER IS TO BE ABLE TO RESOLVE IN PRINCIPLE THESE THREE PROBLEMS WHICH ARE TIED ONE TO THE OTHER

Q: DO YOU HAVE AN ESTIMATE OF AMERICAN PROPERTY WHICH

WAS LEFT IN VIETNAM?

A: IT IS DIFFICULT FOR US TO EVALUATE, UNLESS THE AMERICANS FURNISH US (A FIGURE) AFTERWARDS.

Q: HAVE YOU . . .(INAUDIBLE)?

A: NO, NOT YET.

Q: MR. MINISTER, JUST A MOMENT AGO YOU ENUMERATED THREE BIG PROBLEMS. CAN YOU BEGIN BY THE THIRD, THAT IS THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS, LEAVING ASIDE A DISCUSSION OF THE DETAILS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND POINTS?

A: SINCE THESE THREE PROBLEMS ARE TIED, WE HOPE THAT WE CAN SOLVE THE THREE PROBLEMS TOGETHER. THEY ARE SO TIED ONE TO THE OTHERS THAT THEY ARE IN EFFECT THREE

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ARTICLES OF A SINGLE AGREEMENT, SPECIFICALLY ARTICLE 8B, ARTICLE 21 AND ARTICLE 22 OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT ON VIETNAM.

Q: MR. PHAN HIEN, THE AMERICAN POINT OF VIEW, FROM THE AMERICAN SIDE, THERE IS A CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM, AND I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU WHAT ARE YOUR CONCLUSIONS

ON THE WAY . . . (INAUDIBLE). THAT IS AN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT CAN SIGN AN AGREEMENT ON A CERTAIN SUM OF MONEY, BUT IT CANNOT DELIVER THIS MONEY WITHOUT LEGISLATION FROM THE CONGRESS. YOU HAVE YOUR REQUIREMENTS: MUST ONE AWAIT THE AUTHORIZATION BY THE CONGRESS FOR THE EXPENDITURE OF THAT MONEY OR ARE YOU SEEKING AN AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE IN ACCORDANCE WITH WHICH THE ADMINISTRATION WILL SAY THAT IT WILL MAKE AN EFFORT?

A: WE BELIEVE THAT IT IS THE US WHICH OFFERS REALLY TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM AND TO ARRIVE, FINALLY, AT THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES FOR THE MUTUAL BENEFIT OF THE TWO COUNTRIES. IF THE US DECIDES TO DO THAT, THEN IT WILL BE ABLE ITSELF TO FIND UNCLASSIFIED

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A WAY TO ACCOMPLISH THAT. BECAUSE IN THIS LABYRINTH, WE, THE VIETNAMESE, CARNOT FIND OUR WAY. THAT IS THE AFFAIR OF THE AMERICANS THEMSELVES. BUT IF THEY ARE DECIDED TO FIND A SOLUTION FOR NORMALIZATION, TO ARRIVE AT THAT OBJECTIVE, THEN I BELIEVE THAT THEY WILL FIND A MEANS.

Q: MR. MINISTER, PERHAPS I DID NOT COMPLETELY UNDERSTAND OR PERHAPS YOU ARE USING DIPLOMATIC LANGUAGE. AFTER WHAT YOU JUST SAID, I HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT FOR THE NORMALIZATION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND HANOI THERE ARE CERTAIN PRECONDITIONS. ONE APPEARS TO BE ON YOU SIDE, AN AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE OR THE EXPRESSION OF GOOD WILL OF THE AMERICANS ON DETENTE . . . (INAUDIBLE) AND PERHAPS ON THE AMERICAN SIDE TO GET MORE INFORMATION ON THE MISSING AMERICANS. BEFORE THE OPENING OF TALKS TWO DAYS AGO, ONE HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT THERE WERE NO LONGER ANY PRECONDITIONS.

A: WE DO NOT SPEAK OF PRECONDITIONS AT ALL, BUT WE SAY THAT THE THREE PROBLEMS ARE RATHER INTIMATELY CONNECTED, AND ONE MUST TURN TOWARD THE FUTURE BUT WITHOUT LEAVING THE PROBLEMS LEFT FROM THE PAST UNRESOLVED. ONE MUST RESOLVE CORRECTLY THE PROBLEMS LEFT BY THE WAR, THAT IS THE SEARCH FOR INFORMATION CONCERNING THE MIA AND THEN THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE US TO HEALING THE WOUNDS OF WAR IN VIETNAM. WITH THE SOLUTION OF THESE POSTWAR PROBLEMS, LEFT OVER BY THE WAR, WE WILL HAVE A SOLID BASE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES, A BASE WHICH PROMISES THE DEVELOPMENT OF FUTURE RELATIONS.

Q: MR. MINISTER, WHAT POINT SEEMS TO YOU NOW THE EASIEST TO RESOLVE AND ALSO WHICH IS THE ONE WHICH SEEMS TO YOU THE MOST DIFFICULT TO RESOLVE. UNCLASSIFIED

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A: THE EASIEST TO RESOLVE IS, ONE MUST SAY, THAT WHICH WE CAN DO, THAT IS TO SAY ARTICLE 8B, THE SEARCH FOR INFORMATION ON THE MIA, BECAUSE WE CAN OURSELVES ASK THE POPULATION TO ORGANIZE A SEARCH OVER A PERIOD OF TIME. THEN, WITH OUR GOOD WILL, WE BELIEVE WE CAN MAKE PROGRESS. AS FOR THE OTHER PROBLEMS, I BELIEVE THAT DEPENDS RATHER ON THE AMERICAN PARTY.

Q: (INAUDIBLE).

A: WE SEE THAT THE PROBLEM OF THE VETO, THE LIFTING OF THE VETO, THE AMERICAN STATEMENT THAT IT WILL NO LONGER OPPOSE THE ADMISSION OF VIETNAM INTO THE UN AND ALSO RAISING IMMEDIATELY THE EMBARGO AS A POSITIVE SIGN THAT THIS ADMINISTRATION RENOUNCES THE ERRONEOUS POLICY OF THE PAST. WITHIN THESE TWO PROBLEMS, THE AMERICAN PARTY DECLARES THAT IT WILL NO LONGER OPPOSE THE ADDMISSION (INTO THE UN). (INAUDIBLE).

Q: . . . (INAUDIBLE) DIPLOMATIC WITH THE US BEFORE
AGREEING ON THE QUESTION OF THE CONTRIBUTION . . .
(INAUDIBLE) . . IF THERE WAS THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO
AND IF THERE WAS THE LIFTING OF THE VETO COULD ONE THEN

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ARRIVE AT RELATIONS . . . (INAUDIBLE)?

A: WE SAID THAT THESE THREE PROBLEMS ARE CONNECTED. SO ONE CANNOT RESOLVE SEPARATELY ONE PROBLEM WITHOUT RESOLVING ANOTHER. SO WE HAVE ALSO INDICATED IN OUR THREE-POINT POSITION THE PROBLEM OF REESTABLISHMENT OF NORMAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. THE PROBLEM NOW IS TO KNOW HOW THE ONES ARE CONDITIONED ON THE OTHERS, TO TIE AND TO HAVE A PROCESS OF HARMONIOUS SOLUTION OF THESE THREE PROBLEMS. I DO NOT SPEAK OF PRECONDITIONS, BUT ONE MUST NONETHELESS HAVE A HARMONIOUS PROCESS OF ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THESE THREE PROBLEMS, BENEFICIAL TO THE TWO PARTIES.

Q: MR. MINISTER, DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THE CHANGE OF ADMINISTRATION IN THE US CAN FACILITATE IN A CERTAIN WAY THE COURSE OF NEGOTIATIONS IN A POSITIVE AND RAPID FASHION?

A: WE APPRECIATE CERTAIN ATTITUDES OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION, HOWEVER WE MUST STILL WAIT UNTIL THE WORDS AND THE ACTIONS AGREE.
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Q: MR. PHAN HIEN, WHEN YOU SPOKE OF AMERICAN AID TO HEAL THE WOUNDS OF WAR, YOU ARE SPEAKING OF AID AND CREDITS?

A: AID AND CREDITS, THESE ARE THE FORMS THAT ONE CAN EXAMEN ALSO. THANK YOU. GAMMON

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